THE STORY OF CLAUDE EATHERLY: CONSCIENCE OF MAN CONFINED . . . P. 5

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CONGO AND LAOS ARE THE TESTS

U. S. Angola vote hailed, but no basic policy change seen

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE UNITED NATIONS two weeks ago the U.S. twice left the ranks of the imperialist powers and lined up with the Afro-Asians on the issue of colonial freedom.

On March 15 in the Security Council Ambassador Stevenson supported the Liberia-Ceylon-United Arab Republic resolution on reform in Portuguese Angola. Next day in the Trusteeship Council U.S. delegate Jonathan Bingham voted in favor of a Mexico-Venezuela resolution censuring South African policy in the mandated territory of Southwest Africa.

The Security Council resolution called for a UN commission to inquire into conditions in Angola and asked Portugal to introduce reforms to safeguard the rights and freedom of the Angola Africans in conformity with the UN Charter. Soviet Ambassador Zorin strongly supported the resolution. Portuguese delegate Dr. Vasco Garin angrily retorted: "You mind your own affairs and we mind ours."

JEFFERSON QUOTED: Stevenson admonished Portugal in a fatherly manner, quoted Jefferson on the self-evident truths "that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." He said that "a beginning should be made by Portugal" in cooperation with the UN in promoting the "political maturity" of the Angolans, eventually leading "toward full self-determination." Unless this were done, he warned, conditions in Angola would "lead to more disorders with many unfortunate and dangerous consequences."

The vote for the resolution was 5 to 0, but seven votes were needed for approval; there were six abstentions. The U.S., the Soviet Union and the three sponsors voted in favor, while France, Britain, Turkey, Ecuador, Chile and the representative of Chiang Kai-shek abstained.

VIOLENCE ERUPTS: Stevenson's warning proved true almost immediately. Within 24 hours there were reports of violent uprisings against Portuguese settlers in Angola along the Congo borders. The government rushed paratroopers to the area and poured in reinforcements after them. There were stories of many Portuguese settlers being mutilated and murdered, and of others fleeing in panic, recalling stories coming out of the Congo last July.

Portugal reacted bitterly to the U.S.

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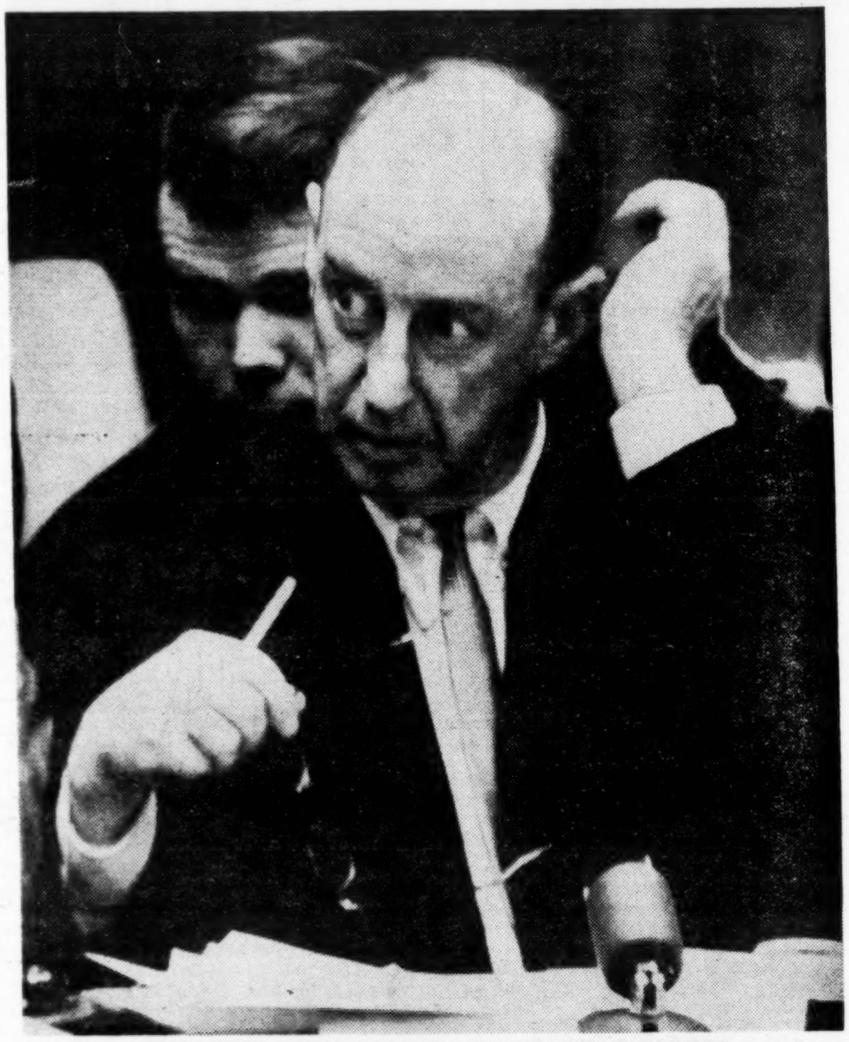

" . . . ENDOWED WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS . . . "
U.S. delegate Stevenson quoted Jefferson at the UN on Angola, but Washington (see left) still has to apply it to Laos and the Congo too.

INTEGRATION TALKS BREAK DOWN

260 arrested in Louisville

MORE THAN 260 Negro demonstrators were arrested in less than a week in Louisville, Ky.,—177 of them on March 14 alone—as a result of renewed mass picketing and stand-in demonstrations for integration of the city's downtown facilities. The demonstrations, which began at theaters on March 9, coincided with a breakdown of negotiations by a bi-raical committee set up by the mayor to plan the integration. The talks had been in process for two weeks.

Establishment of the negotiating committee—the Mayor's Emergency Integration Committee—Feb. 24 had ended a week of demonstrations which had shocked city officials. Louisville is one of the few Southern cities which had been quietly integrating public facilities, including schools, over the past decade. The **Christian Science Monitor** said March 8: "City officials and business leaders alike professed surprise at the demonstrations and the obvious unanimity of feeling with which the Negro community supported them."

THE IMPASSE: During the February demonstrations 77 students had been arrested by police who had stood idly by while store police pushed and struck the demonstrators. After the negotiating

(Continued on Page 10)

Pauling to Dodd: Come out from behind that immunity

THE SENATE Internal Security subcommittee, in the latest of a series of attacks against Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling, on March 16 charged Dr. Pauling with having shown a "consistent pro-Soviet bias," and figuring as "the No. 1 scientific name in virtually every major activity of the Communist peace offensive in this country."

Dr. Pauling, in Cleveland to receive an award as "Humanist of the Year" from the American Humanist Assn., immediately challenged the Senators making the charge to waive their Congressional immunity and repeat their accusation. He said he would sue them. He and his wife and co-worker for peace, Ava Helen Pauling, filed suit March 14 against the Bellingham (Wash.) **Herald** for $500,000 damages far making similar charges.

SUBVERSION: The harassment of Dr. Pauling has been stepped up since he submitted to the United Nations more than three years ago a petition calling for a ban on nuclear tests. The petition was signed by 11,021 scientists in 49 countries. In Cleveland Dr. Pauling said:

"I'm shocked that the subcommittee should use its Congressional immunity from libel to do damage to my reputation. It is clearly an effort to subvert the constitutional right to petition."

Dr. Pauling told the Humanist convention, which gave him a standing ovation, that a few months after his petition had been presented its principles had been adopted by the Eisenhower Administration and have become official U.S. policy.

"I want the Communists to follow my line," he said, "and I want the Americans to follow my line."

"WE CAN HAVE HOPE": He described subcommittee chairman Sen. Thomas E. Dodd (D-Conn.) as the leader of a movement determined to damage the peace movement. "They want to lead us into war," he said. In his address to the Humanists, after he received the award from Mrs. Cyrus S. Eaton, Dr. Pauling said:

"I believe that we can hope. I believe that we can win the final victory over the immorality of war, that the nations of the world will give up war, will become moral; that the fine ethical principles that are now accepted by the units of humankind will be taken over also by the great whole organism."

OSLO IN MAY: Toward this goal, the Paulings have taken the lead in sponsoring a Conference Against the Spread of Nuclear Weapons in Oslo, Norway, May 2-7. The meeting will coincide with a session of the NATO Council. Among the sponsors, who include seven Nobel Prize winners, are:

Karl Barth, Germany, theologian; Lord Boyd Orr, Britain, former head of the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization; Max Born, Germany, physicist; Brock Chisholm, Canada, psychiatrist and former head of the UN's World Health Organization; Mrs. Cyrus S. Eaton, U.S.A.; J. Heyrovsky, Czechoslovakia, chemist; John Hygen, Norway, theologian; Robert Hutchins, U.S.A., director of the Fund for the Republic; Hugh Keenleyside, Canada, peace movement leader; Alexander Meiklejohn, U.S.A., philosopher and educator; Lewis Mumford, U.S.A., author; Gunnar Myrdal, Sweden, sociologist; Arne Naess, Norway, author; Philip Noel-Baker, Britain, former MP and peace leader; Marcus Oliphant, Britain, physicist; Jean Rostand, France, philosopher; Bertrand Russell, Britain, philosopher; Albert Schweitzer, Republic of the Congo, physician; Albert Szent-Gyorgyi, Hungary scientist; Hideki Yukawa, Japan, physicist; Francois Mauriac, France, author.

THE MAIL BAG

Batistianos in L.A.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Here are some facts about what happened inside the Embassy Auditorium at our Fair Play for Cuba meeting here March 5:

The meeting was opened by attorney A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union, who informed the audience that an attempt would be made by anti-Castro elements to break up the meeting. He urged the audience to remain calm if anything happened.

Part of the right side of the hall had some empty seats. A group of hoodlums entered and occupied the seats. They interrupted Vincent Hallinan who was speaking. They were cautioned. Plain clothes members of the police force were seated among the hoodlums, but were not known to them.

Suddenly a fight broke out. The police and ushers pushed the hoodlums out of the hall in less than five minutes. The audience remained largely seated and the meeting went on again shortly as if nothing had happened.

This is the first occasion in my life when the police acted in defense of such a meeting. They did a good job. Perhaps you should know the following:

Mayor Poulson is running for reelection and the primary is April 4. The Mexican and Cuban residents of L.A. are overwhelmingly pro-Castro and a smart politician knows the sentiment of the people.

J.R.

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The main speaker at the meeting, Robert F. Williams, North Carolina NAACP leader who has visited Cuba several times in the last two years, gave a magnificent talk.

The following day the police found a cache of arms including a machine gun, eight rifles and 4,000 rounds of ammunition in the possession of another anti-Castro Cuban who exchanged shots with a policeman when surprised ransacking a parked car.

These events help round out the picture of the activities of these hoodlums who live on U.S. government subsidy and seem to think they can prevent by mob violence public meetings of people with whom they disagree.

Martin Hall, chairman, L.A. Fair Play for Cuba Comm.

•

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Vincent Hallinan was never in danger of being harmed. Ushers and police were on the alert at all times, and when these thugs arose they were immediately ushered out of the hall.

A. L. Wirin should be given full credit. He won the injunction forcing the Auditorium to go through with the meeting, secured the police protection and kept them on their toes whenever he saw signs of a disturbance looming.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

DELANO—(California News Service)—A nine-man board of directors to serve the Delano Anti-Communist group until Feb. 1, 1962, was elected Friday night. The organization will be dissolved at the completion of the directors' term of office, Police Chief James Wehrle explained, because in "five years perhaps it will be taken over by some subversive element and to overcome this we should disband in one year, with our study period complete."

—The Bakersfield **Californian, Feb. 28**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon., San Antonio, Texas

I had three minutes on Radio Station KNX a few days after the disturbance, during which I pointed out that a former Cuban naval officer under Batista, Lt. Orlando V. Cuellar Alonso, is running a recruiting center for Cuban counterrevolutionaries at 1401 W. 20th St., where pro-Batista Cubans can be seen loitering. They go to hall owners and intimidate them into canceling pro-Castro meetings. I noted that our own government makes this possible by supporting these people here with our tax dollars while they live like parasites, just as they did in Cuba under Batista.

Max Miller

The sheltered death

TIOGA, PA.

Praise the Lord, for our
nuclear position,
Praise the Lord, we'll die in
good condition,
In shelters deep, we'll go on
to perdition—
Civil Defense, praise thee!

Maurice Becker

No smiling matter

LOMBARD, ILL.

One of your readers says that you have been "entirely too negative and destructive" on the Kennedy Administration thus far.

I am quite sure you can do better than just to criticize. What we had under Eisenhower and Nixon borders on a nightmare. Kennedy will make mistakes—he made one during the campaign versus Cuba—and will probably make some more. He faces a hard task with the Southern saboteurs and he will need the support of all liberals. His program indicates determination to act. We may not agree with him in all he is trying to do. Times are too serious just to tear down. We will not have socialism during his occupancy. If he can bring the country back where we can think rationally and lay low that insane Communist witch hunt he will have accomplished a major task. Let's have a little hope and try to allay the hysteria that grips the country.

You may smile over my innocence but that will not turn me against the GUARDIAN. I like the GUARDIAN and I admire the workers who make it a vocation and not only a "job" and not a very lucrative one at that.

D. D. Barta

Information wanted

LONDON, ENGLAND

I am preparing the biography of the great Irish patriot and democrat Liam Mellows, who was in the U.S.A. from January, 1917, to September, 1920. The earlier part of this time was spent mostly in New York City, but possibly partly in Philadelphia.

It is understood that he was connected with the Irish Progressive League, and must therefore certainly have come into touch with Con O'Lehane the socialist, and possibly also James Larkin. I am particularly anxious to know more about such contacts, about all three men during their stay in the U.S.A., and about the work and personnel of the I.P.L.

Any of your readers who may have recollections or reminiscences no matter how trivial, can contact me, and all communications will be acknowledged.

C. Desmond Greaves
Editor, **Irish Democrat**
6 Cockpit Chambers
20 Northington Street

United Mine Workers Journal

Progress in Guiana

GEORGETOWN, BR. GUIANA

The People's Progressive Party will be holding its 9th Annual Congress April 1-3. The imperialist forces of reaction in this country are making a desperate and determined bid to win power and defeat the People's Progressive Party. They are using all means at their disposal to undermine our popularity and have even resorted to blatant gerrymandering of constituency boundaries with the aim of reducing our electoral strength.

But behind us is our record of service and struggle on behalf of the working people of Guiana. During the past three and half years in which the PPP has participated in the Government, we have succeeded in achieving many economic and social gains for our people. We have militantly continued the fight for Independence and, as a result of this, our Party was able to wrest from the Colonial Office a Constitution granting a greater measure of self-government and a promise of independence not later than two years after the introduction of the new Constitution in August 1961.

Janet Jagan, general secy.
People's Progressive Party
41 Robb St.

Fair exchange

ERWIN, TENN.

Doris Duke has endowed a Special Chair in Russian Affairs at Duke University. Fair exchange. The Russians established special studies of the Doris Dukes long ago.

Ernest Seeman

Repeater

WHEELING, W. VA.

Was a reader from way back. Heard you are doing a fine job on covering issues of outstanding importance—so I want again to take advantage of your splendid reporting.

Genne E. Kuhn

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AT THE PRELIMINARY Big Four conference in Paris Western deputies told Russia's Gromyko his assertion that Europe's peoples want peace is "propaganda." They rejected as "unacceptable" his proposal that the foreign ministers' conference agenda include Big Four disarmament with international inspection and control. (For the past four years the U.S. has rejected all Soviet disarmament proposals on the ground that they didn't include international inspection and control). Washington's Jessup said no amount of talk would halt U.S. determination to make Western Germany an ally and arsenal. Even as the deputies met, Washington speeded plans for German rearmament.

—From the National Guardian, March 28, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

From Mac to Marx

SOMETHING MAC SAID the other day (William McChesney Martin Jr., that is, head of the Federal Reserve) seemed to ring a certain bell, and prompted us to look for parallels in a certain new book.

Mac said, speaking of the unemployment crisis:

"The problem of structural unemployment is manifest in the higher total of those left unemployed after each wave of the three most recent business cycles and in the idleness of many West Virginia coal miners, Eastern and Midwestern steel and auto workers, and like groups, in good times as well as bad.

"To have important effect, attempts to reduce structural unemployment by massive monetary and fiscal stimulation of over-all demands likely would have to be carried to such new lengths as to create serious new problems of inflationary character—at a time when consumer prices already are at a record high."

MR. DOOLEY, if asked to comment on the foregoing, might get us delightfully off the track on such terms as "structural unemployment" and "over-all demands." ("Structural unemployment, Hennessy, is what happened to the hodcarrier whin the wall fell in." And, "Y'see, Hennessy, Mac uses the wurrd 'overall' in a diffrint sense than you and me.") But in spite of the la-de-da terminology, Mac seemed to be on a familiar track indeed, and sure enough, we found it on page 342 **et seq.** of **Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism** (Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1960; at the Jefferson or any other politically literate bookshop; 891 pp., $2.25).

THE CHAPTER HEADING is, ahem, "Present Day Imperialism" and subheading 3, "Is Capitalism Getting Rid of Economic Crises?" is answered thus: "Anti-crisis measures are merely a palliative against capitalism's incurable illness." The measures listed include armaments programs, control of credit and banking, bank deposit insurance as an anti-panic measure; curtailing production, soil banks and regulation of consumer credit.

But, the Book says, despite highly favorable post-war conditions, U.S. has had three big slumps (the same ones Mac was talking about) and goes on:

"With each succeeding slump, the number of those registered as fully unemployed grew sharply. Thus, in 1949, unemployment rose by 1.3 million over the 1948 level; from 1953 to 1954, it rose by 1.6 million; and in mid-1958, unemployment was 2.4 million higher than the 1957 average. At the beginning of 1959, about 5 million fully unemployed were officially registered."

Now, while the Book credits state-monopoly capitalism with considerable success in influencing the "nature and form" of economic crises by anti-crisis measures, it goes on to point out that such measures ultimately result in making the illness more deep-seated, thereby creating the basis for new crises—which seems to be just what our Mac was trying to point out.

MAC'S REMEDY TO OFFSET the further increases in "structural unemployment" which he sees coming is not what Marx and Lenin prescribe, but, in spite of a common misconception of the matter, is one that they would approve for the time being. Mac wants retraining of structurally unemployed in skills needed in expanding industries; better information on job opportunities; and benefit plans to remove penalties on workers moving to new jobs. Management and labor, under government leadership, should work this out, he says.

In these words, **Fundamentals** certifies such procedures:

"Communists, of course, do not gloat over the fact that capitalism has not succeeded in eliminating crises . . . A destructive economic crisis, to be sure, increases the wrath of the working people against capitalism. But as history has shown, it simultaneously promotes reaction and fascism and increases the danger of war. Moreover, Communists cannot welcome economic crises, for they are fully aware of the great misfortunes involved for the broad masses of working people."

Therefore, the Book says, working people should fight for all measures to alleviate the effects of cyclical crises—higher wages, lower taxes, rent control, public works, unemployment insurance and expanded world trade. But the Marxist-Leninist way to abolish crises is to replace capitalism with socialism, which, the Marxists-Leninists say, the working class will do when it rids itself of the last illusion that there can be crisis-free capitalist development.

Said Hennessy, "Mac will burry the both iv thim."

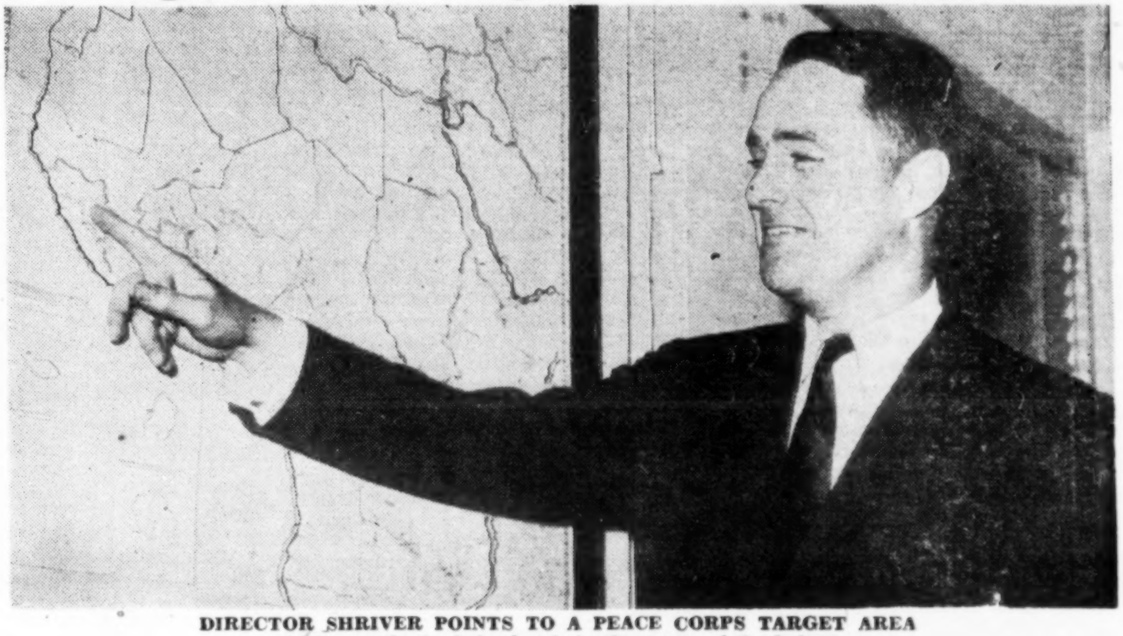
Said Dooley: "Thrue for you, Hennessy! But the throuble is, the divils won't stay burried!"

—THE GUARDIAN

THE CONCEPT AND THE PROSPECTS OF THE PLAN

Peace Corps: A brigade of 'Ugly Americans'?

By James Aronson



DIRECTOR SHRIVER POINTS TO A PEACE CORPS TARGET AREA
Africa needs the help, but it is also wary of the helper

AN EDITORIAL in the New York **Times** of March 2, commenting on the President's plan for a Peace Corps, said there would be no "ugly Americans" among the youthful workers in this unpaid brigade which would be going abroad for its country. A sense that the editorial writer had not read **The Ugly American,** the 1958 best-seller by William J. Lederer and Eugene Burdick, impelled a trip to the library for a quick rereading of the book and a confirmation: What the editorial writer should have said was that the Peace Corps would be full of "ugly Americans," because the ugly American was the hero of the Lederer-Burdick book, not the villain.

The book was a collection of fictional stories, with many real life characters thinly disguised, about Americans in a south-east Asian country called Sarkhan. The Americans were fat-headed ambassadors and diplomats whose brains were in the seat of their striped pants; naval officers sapped of their vitality by unlikely Communist Mata Haris; high-powered technical experts who knew neither the language nor the needs of the people they were dealing with.

ON THE OTHER HAND there was the dedicated, intelligent career diplomat working against the odds of bureaucracy and stupidity both in Sarkhan and Washington; the Catholic priest from Worcester, Mass., who went into the jungles of Burma at the risk of his disease-racked life, to teach the people that "the evil of communism is that it masked from the native peoples the simple fact that it intends to ruin them"; and, of course, the ugly engineer of the title who with some sticks of bamboo and an old bicycle became an accepted part of life in the back reaches of Sarkhan.

Counter-poised against the Americans at all times, and working far more skilfully, according to the authors, were the Russians and the Chinese, who for their own evil ends (see priest's testimony above) learned the language, lived and worked with the people, and made the Americans appear to be laughable and arrogant bumblers.

In a "Factual Epilogue," the authors of **The Ugly American wrote:**

"We do not need the horde of 1,500,000 Americans—mostly amateurs—who are now working for the United States overseas. What we need is a small force of well-trained, well-chosen, hard-working, and dedicated professionals. They must be willing to risk their comforts and—in some lands—their health. They must go equipped to apply a positive policy promulgated by a clear-thinking government . . . If we are not prepared to pay the human price, we had better retreat to our shores, build Fortress America, learn to live without international trade and communications, and accept mediocrity, the low standard of living, and the loom of world Communism which would accompany such a move."

ON MARCH 1 President Kennedy announced the formation of the Peace Corps. He said:

"This corps will be a pool of trained men and women sent overseas by the United States government or through private institutions and organizations to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs of skilled manpower . . . We will send those abroad who are committed to the concept which motivates the Peace Corps. It will not be easy. None of the men and women will be paid a salary. They will live at the same level as the citizens of the countries which they are sent to, doing the same work, eating the same food and speaking the same language.

"It is hoped that within a few years several thousand Peace Corps members will be working in foreign lands... They will serve under conditions of physical hardship, living under primitive conditions among people of developing nations . . . Every young American who participates in the Peace Corps—who works in a foreign land—will know that he or she is sharing in the great common task of bringing to man the decent way of life which is the foundation of freedom and a condition of peace."

A great editorial hosanna greeted the President's proposal. Immediately the daughters of Senators and State Dept. officials volunteered their services in the hastily set up Peace Corps office in Washington. Mail poured in, phones jangled, college campuses were buzzing with argument pro and con.

THE PRESIDENT NAMED as director of the Peace Corps R. Sargent Shriver ("Hi, I'm Sarg Shriver, Jack Kennedy's brother-in-law"), 45, a former member of the Chicago school board and a manager of father-in-law Joe Kennedy's vast real estate interests, including the Merchandise Mart in Chicago. The New York **World-Telegram & Sun** noted that Shriver's marriage to Eunice Kennedy reputedly had cost $100,000—a rather unaustere figure for the director of an austere organization—and that they had been joined by Cardinal Spellman at St. Patrick's Cathedral in the first nuptial mass celebrated by the Cardinal for anyone outside his family. The **Times** noted that Shriver had been a founder of America First at Yale.

It was announced that several colleges would immediately set up training programs of six months' to a year's duration in languages, lectures by nationals of various lands, and "American institutions and the theory of democracy and economics." The Corps would be semi-autonomous under the State Dept.

This will be no picnic, said Shriver, in answer to a question as to whether the work would be "fun." He said: "This is no children's crusade." He himself is waiving the $18,000 salary which would apply to his governmental rating. Although the Corps members will get no cash except their living allowance, the cost per Corps member—training and expenses—was estimated at about $12,000 annually. It is hoped eventually to have 2,000 overseas.

The **Times** termed the program "a trumpet call against the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself . . . They [the Corpsmen] will not come like communist agents by stealth and subterfuge . . . They are not to become instruments of propaganda or ideological conflict except, of course, in so far as their aid and bearing give testimony to our ideas and purpose."

Less subtly the New York **Journal-American** said the program "marks the beginning of an experiment which, if successful, would pay off handsome dividends to the cause of freedom." This broker's terminology was followed by a caution: "We would add that in addition to being rigorously trained, they should be rigorously screened. One emotionally unstable or communist-tainted apple in this barrel of goodwill and fellowship could do a tremendous amount of damage."

The Hearstian homily was hardly necessary, since it had already been announced that applicants would indeed be rigorously screened and would need an FBI clearance. The apples would be rosy-cheeked but untainted. There was also the usual disclaimer that the Central Intelligence Agency — which accounts to nobody—would in any way be involved.

There were some demurrers at home and, interestingly enough, mainly from women. Rep. Frances Bolton (R-Ohio) was fearful of the haste with which the plan was being promulgated ("We've got deadlines to meet," said Shriver). Doris Fleeson noted acidly in the New York **Post** that the 14-member advisory commission set up to assist Shriver included not one woman. For many Democratic women, she said, "already muttering that they were being frozen out of the New Frontier, this was the absolute end." The **Post** editorially fussed about the FBI clearance, but took comfort in the fact that "a new generation has been stirred by the prospect of meeting the Communist thrust with weapons more imaginative and noble than atomic bombs."

ABROAD THE REACTION was something less than enthusiastic, except in West Germany where Bonn said: Let's you and us do it together; we have imagination too. In England the Yorkshire **Post** said that the idea was one which would appeal to "the most dedicated of young people or those with large allowances from millionaire parents."

In Nigeria—a possible Peace Corps country—the comment was tougher. The **Daily Telegraph of Lagos** said: "The very idea of America offering her sons to serve other nations free of charge, is deadly suspicious. Does not that suggest a drive on the part of America to plant their spies all over Africa? Supposing the Russians had made a similar offer, would America not debunk it? We are a poor country, but we do not hope to be rich by accepting Greek gifts from America."

Indeed, even before a single classroom had been set up to teach young Americans the ways of other lands, the emphasis seemed to be not so much on what we could do to help others, as how the Peace Corpsmen could help reverse the admittedly hostile attitude of peoples in underdeveloped nations toward America. "All this," said director Shriver, as he explained the Corps' purposes, "may combine to provide a substantial popular base for responsible American policies."

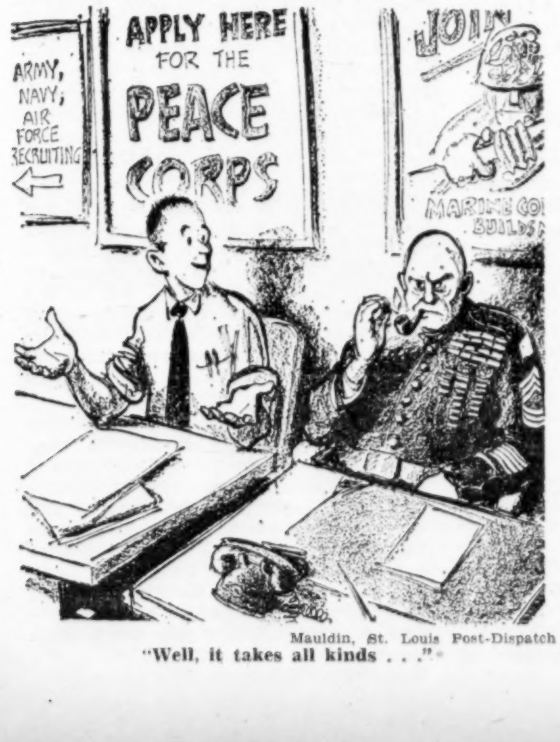
RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN policies today seem to mean only one thing to responsible American officials: The soundness of the cold war philosophy that our way of life is beyond reproach and the socialist way is the road to perdition.

What with the security screening and the bias in the university faculties, there was little likelihood that the Corpsmen would be encouraged to maintain an open mind on ideas when they went abroad.

It is of course possible that the experiences of young Americans abroad might nonetheless cause them to question some of the values instilled in them by the corporate universities and communications media. But if the opinion of one University of Pennsylvania student has any prevalence, there is a long row to hoe. He said:

"It is quite frightening to be offered an extremely difficult career with low wages, poor living conditions and no recognition. It is quite foolish to expect young ambitious persons to sacrifice their lives for the good of society."

In this light it might be sounder to mobilize a Home Corps to help alter our society so that sacrifice for its good would seem less foolish to the young; and in time we might produce a generation which could be called the Unfrightened Americans.


ARMY, NAVY, AIR FORCE RECRUITING
APPLY HERE FOR THE PEACE CORPS
JOIN
MARINE CO
BUILDS

Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"Well, it takes all kinds . . ."

PRO-WESTERN ACTIONS RESENTED

Ghana celebration in Israel reflects cooling of relations

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

SOME TWO HUNDRED African students here—from Kenya to the Congo—sang and danced on the night of March 6 in celebration of Ghana's Independence Day. They ranged from a 17-year-old Nigerian to trade union leaders from Nairobi, bankers from Accra and agronomists from Brazzaville, and most of them were meeting their fellow Africans for the first time.

The party, held in a modest cafe with the Embassy staff acting as waiters and the Ambassador's brother tending bar, was in contrast to the pomp of the usual receptions neld on national holidays. The diplomatic corps was absent and so were government leaders, gossip columnists and assorted VIPs who usually flock to whatever luxury hotel offers champagne and caviar.

With all of Africa still mourning Patrice Lumumba, Ghana's Ambassador Bediako Poku decided to dispense with meaningless formalities and make this an African family party. The handful of us non-Africans who were invited to share Africa's joy and sorrow felt privileged indeed.

WINDS OF CHANGE: The decision not to hold the usual diplomatic reception is an indication of a shift in emphasis in African-Israel relations. Those who remember Ghana Embassy parties in previous years and the mammoth gala celebration in honor of Republic Day where the entire Cabinet, headed by the Prime Minister, was present, must have noticed that the "winds of change" are also blowing in this direction.

Despite protestations of continued friendship, Ghana is decidedly dissociating herself from her previous commitments—at least, commitments of a major kind.

After having bought out the Israel shipping line Zim with the help of which Ghana's Black Star Line was founded and operated, the Ghana government is now ready to purchase all shares in the Ghana National Construction Co., currently held by the Histadrut's **Solel Boneh.** While students continue to arrive here and medical teams and agricultural missions leave from here for various parts of Africa, the trend is obviously away from any type of major political or economic involvement, with emphasis on technical aid in the strictest—and non-political—sense of the term.

The denunciation of Israel as an "instrument of imperialism" in the Middle East and Africa at the recent Casablanca summit talks of African chiefs of state marked the end of the honeymoon between this country and the new African states.

FANTASY EXPLODED: Casablanca, which came as a shock to public opinion here—weaned on the fantasy of eternal friendship—should have come as no surprise to those familiar with Israel foreign policy. If Israel's friendship with France and her position on Algeria had been forgiven, if not forgotten, at least by those West African leaders without strong Arab ties, her position on the Congo could be neither explained nor excused. Both in the UN and without, Israel has consistently taken a pro-Western line and has alienated her African friends.

Yizhar Harari, member of the Knesset of the middle-of-the-road Progressive Party and a member of the Israel delegation to last year's General Assembly, criticized the government's support of UN secretary general Dag Hammarskjold's stand on the Congo. Declaring that the UN Emergency Force had nothing to do in the Congo, Harari asked:

STOCKHOLM IS YOURS
JERUSALEM IS OURS
FIGHTERS FOR THE FREEDOM OF ISRAEL
YOUR WORK IS IN VAIN
WE ARE HERE
FIGHTERS FREEDOM

IN 1948 ISRAELIS PICKETED THE UN'S MEDIATOR IN JERUSALEM
Today Israel alienates Africans by backing Hammarskjold's Congo stand

"Have we forgotten how strongly we opposed the encroachments of UN observers in 1948 who tried to interfere in our own internal affairs?"

Harari also charged that Israel had lost status at the UN by abstaining too frequently on crucial issues.

STUDENT PROTEST: On the local level, Africans here were hardly captivated by a lecture given by Dr. Moshe Many of the Israel medical team to the Congo which praised the Belgian contribution to the development of that tortured country and the insinuation that there are still cannibals there. When Dr. Many finished, an African student in the audience, denied the floor, shouted:

"You're all liars. Why do you say there are cannibals in the Congo? What makes you think the Belgians deserve any credit?" The Africans then left the hall in a body. There were, of course, the usual apologies afterwards, but as the London **Times** once put it, "It's not official until denied."

THE REAL SHOCK: Thus if the Israelis were shocked by Casablanca—and their shock is largely justified on the basis of previous and exaggerated government claims as to the intimacy of Afro-Israel relations—the Africans, in turn, doubt the sincerity of their Israeli friends whose official votes and acts often run counter to their protestations of friendship.

The recurrent rumors as to the presence of Israeli military personnel in Katanga have, to the best of my knowledge, never been substantiated, but it is symptomatic that they should circulate at all. What has been verified—and shocked Africans both here and elsewhere—are semi-diplomatic ties with the so-called government of Moishe Tshombe, with officials of the puppet government coming and going, and the arrival here of Katanga Minister of Agriculture Sylvestre Kilonda.

Watching these developments, Africans are apt to say: "Tell me who your friends are, and I shall tell you who you are."

Angola vote hailed

(Continued from Page 1)

and inevitably attributed the uprisings to "Communist agitators." But in New York, Roberto Holden, 36-year-old leader of the Union of Angolan Peoples, denied the charges. He said: "I am a revolutionary only because a Christian who remains silent before a crime becomes a partner in that crime."

Holden expressed regret over the violence and said it was an expression of desperation against Portuguese terrorism over the past 500 years." Those involved in the uprising, he said, were not members of his party but were contract workers rebelling against the system of "forced labor." He added:

"We are trying to educate our people politically—to convey that independence will not be won easily, and freedom, once won, means discipline and responsibility. We are trying to insure against Angola's becoming another Congo."

SOUTHWEST AFRICA: The issue of Southwest Africa has come before the UN regularly since 1946. After World War I, the League of Nations mandated to the Union of South Africa the former German colony of Southwest Africa. South Africa, however, has consistently refused to comply with the UN Charter provision of periodic reports on progress in Southwest Africa toward independence. Last November Ethiopia and Liberia took the issue to the Intl. Court of Justice at the Hague. The Court has not ruled on it yet.

This year's resolution rebuked South Africa for practicing racism in Southwest Africa and for refusing to bring it under the jurisdiction of the UN Trusteeship Committee. With an eye to the Commonwealth Ministers meeting in London, the resolution also asked countries having "close and continuous relations" with South Africa to use their influence to persuade it to change its policies.

During the debate, Bingham denounced South Africa for its racist policies and for its refusal "to recognize any international obligation with respect to the territory." He asked whether the South African government would assure the UN that "it will abide by the decision of the Intl. Court of Justice." As in the past, the South African delegate refused to participate. The Trusteeship Committee on March 13 approved the resolution by a vote of 68-0, with 12 abstentions. Three days later the UN General Assembly endorsed the Committee's decision by a vote of 74-0, with nine abstentions and 16 delegations including South Africa recorded as absent. The U.S. voted in favor on both occasions.

MILD MEASURES: Some UN delegates and supporters of President Kennedy jubilantly hailed the U.S. votes on Angola and Southwest Africa as heralding a fundamental change in Washington's policy on colonialism. Others, however, were skeptical. The skeptics noted that these two resolutions were very mild—milder in fact, than previous resolutions when they should have been stronger in the light of Portugal's and South Africa's repeated refusal to abide by UN decisions. They noted with Zorin that the U.S. made no attempt to persuade even Chiang's delegate, totally dependent on Washington, to vote in favor of the Angola resolution.

Most Afro-Asian delegations were dissatisfied with this year's resolutions and were known to be contemplating introducing sterner measures before the current General Assembly session ended.

The real test of a change in Washington's policy, many observers felt, would be in relation to the Congo and Laos. On these two issues, however, U.S. policy seemed to remain forebodingly unchanged.

THE CONGO: In the Congo, U.S.-supported leaders continued unabated their activities nullifying each UN directive. The Tshombe-Kalonji-Kasavubu decision at Tananarive to set up a confederation of states in the Congo has already stimulated enough secessionist demands to ensure the country's fragmentation into at least 20 "sovereign" states. The Belgian-backed president of mineral-rich Katanga has given notice that the rest of the confederation would get scant financial contributions from his state. G. Mennen Williams, Kennedy's roving Asst. Secy. of State for African Affairs, endorsed the Tananarive decisions at a banquet in Monrovia.

UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold meanwhile went through the motions of implementing the Feb. 21 Security Council decisions on the Congo. He sent two personal representatives to the Congo in the hope that they would be able to contact Tshombe and persuade Belgium to withdraw its forces.

He balked, however, at Western pressure to relieve Indian diplomat Dayal of his post as head of the Congo Command, apparently because he could hardly solicit Indian troops while declaring no confidence in Dayal.

LAOS: The situation in Laos continued to deteriorate as Pathet Lao forces continued their drive toward the royal capital of Luang Prabang, meeting little resistance from pro-U.S. Gen. Nosavan's forces, who were reported to be showing little inclination to fight back. Washington nevertheless increased its military supplies to Nosavan's forces on the ground that Moscow was supplying the Pathet Lao with large quantities of weapons.

Neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma arrived in New Delhi on March 18 on a tour of Asian and European capitals. He said he would seek Indian Premier Nehru's support for a 14-nation—including the Soviet Union and China—conference on Laos. Nehru was said to favor Soviet Premier Khrushchev's proposal for reactivating the Intl. Control Commission on Laos set up at Geneva in 1954.

PROPITIATORY GESTURES: The two UN resolutions the U.S. supported two weeks ago did not forecast any action in the near future to obtain compliance by Portugal and South Africa. But in the Congo and Laos, where immediate action was imperative, the U.S. continued the policy of protecting Western investments and attempting to maintain an anti-China base, respectively.

In the Congo it seemed to approve fragmentation of the country to keep Katanga separate; in Laos it poured more weapons into an apparently bottomless pit to keep the conflict going, and opposed the 14-nation conference because China was included. Without a change in policy toward the Congo and Laos, the two votes in the UN would remain no more than tentative propitiatory gestures toward the struggle for colonial freedom.

THE PILOT WHO LED THE WAY TO HIROSHIMA

The story of Claude Eatherly: Conscience of man confined

THIS WAS HIROSHIMA ONE MONTH AFTER THE BOMB FELL
"It seems that those sleeping under the ashes were crying something for peace"

The truth is that society simply cannot accept the fact of my guilt without at the same time recognizing its own far deeper guilt.
—Claude R. Eatherly, August, 1959

By Robert E. Light

FOURTEEN YEARS ago Maj. Claude R. Eatherly returned to Texas a war hero. He was acclaimed as the reconnaissance plane pilot who gave the "go ahead" signals for the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Today he is a patient in the psychiatric ward of the Veterans Administration hospital in Waco, Tex., adjudged "insane" and committed by a county court.

For a decade Eatherly was racked by the memory of the hundreds of thousands he had helped to kill. He wrote to the survivors of Hiroshima begging forgiveness. At home he rejected the hero's mantle and sought society's punishment by a series of crudely committed crimes from forgery to burglary. When he was committed to the hospital Jan. 14, psychiatrists concluded that he was suffering from a "guilt complex." The treatment presumably will be directed toward ridding him of guilt feelings.

NEVER AGAIN: But it is clear from Eatherly's writing that he is not "insane." He seems to have come to understand what has tormented him and how best to expiate his sin. He said last year that he never expected "to do another anti-social act again." He hopes to "lend influence toward peace, to end nuclear build-up, to safeguard the rights of all people, regardless of race, color or creed."

It has been suggested that the Air Force intervened to keep him confined. But there is also a move for reexamination of Eatherly by an international panel of psychiatrists—a move initiated by Austrian philosopher Dr. Guenther Anders.

THE BEGINNING: In 1945 Eatherly was one of a group of "superpilots" assembled for a secret mission in the 509th Composite Group on Tinian Island in the Marianas. Each had a top service record and had passed a thorough security check.

CLAUDE R. EATHERLY
'Nuclear war is a moral degeneration'

None knew the precise nature of the assignment.

Newsweek (May 25, 1959) said that Eatherly was "an enlistment-poster figure then: A tall, sun-burned wavy-haired Texan, carefree and convivial on the ground, calm and stable in the air."

In its decision to drop the bomb, according to the book **No High Ground** by Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey II, the U.S. high command sought a target which would "include both a military installation and surrounding houses and buildings susceptible to maximum blast damage." Target cities were limited to Hiroshima, Kokura and Nagasaki, in that order of priority.

"BOMB PRIMARY": At 1:37 a.m. on Aug. 6, 1945, three B-29 weather scout planes took off for the target cities. Eatherly flew the **Straight Flush** over Hiroshima with orders to radio the bomb-carrying **Enola Gay** if weather conditions were favorable for a bombing. Only the **Enola Gay** crew knew of the atom bomb; Eatherly knew only that the raid was something special.

At 7:09 a.m. the **Straight Flush** reached Hiroshima. A cloud bank rimmed the city, but there was a clear hole with a diameter of more than ten miles. At 7:25 Eatherly radioed the **Enola Gay**: "Advice. Bomb Primary." An hour later the first atomic bomb exploded in anger fell on Hiroshima. **Enola Gay** co-pilot Capt. Robert A. Lewis, on seeing the mushroom cloud, said: "My God, what have we done?" The answer was later tabulated: 78,150 dead, 37,425 injured, 13,083 missing.

Three days later Eatherly flew the same mission over Nagasaki. He also flew reconnaissance missions over the cities with instruments to record the damage.

THE HERO HOME: Eatherly resigned his commission in 1947, after seven years in service, and returned to Texas. He was acclaimed and publicized as a national hero. But, his wife said, he used to wake up at night screaming, "Bail out! Bail out!"

His anguish increased when his wife suffered miscarriages of malformed foetuses in 1947 and 1948. Subsequent tests indicated that many of his sperm cells had become peculiarly malformed.

Two daughters were eventually born to the Eatherlys, one in 1950 and the other in 1954, but both were found to have a rare blood disease similar to pernicious anemia. Blood tests at the time showed that Eatherly suffered from the same blood ailment.

Before Eatherly resigned his commission, he had participated in atomic bomb tests at Bikini; after one such test his plane had been isolated and washed down. But no one had ever told him that he might have been exposed to radiation.

In 1950 Eatherly began to wander around the South and Southwest. He was drinking heavily. He was arrested in New Orleans, Beaumont and Houston on charges of forgery, robbery, and breaking and entering. Police and courts were lenient because he was a "war hero."

Nine times Eatherly entered the Waco VA hospital as a volunteer patient. In April, 1959, he told Dr. O. P. Constantine: "I feel I killed all those people at Hiroshima." While he was out of the hospital on a 90-day trial period in 1956, he and another patient were questioned about a series of robberies. Eatherly said: "I don't know why we did it. We didn't need the money."

A CLASSIC CASE: Eatherly twice attempted suicide. Waco psychiatrists described his case as "neurosis with psychotic manifestations" and "a classic guilt complex."

One psychiatrist said that he "has sought the punishment of society by acts which would bring down its wrath." But, he added, "the role of therapy is to get at the predisposing factors—Hiroshima in itself is not enough to explain his behavior."

Eatherly believes that Hiroshima is the cause of his actions. In 1959 he began to correspond with Dr. Anders in Vienna. (Anders had written to him after reading a story about him in **Newsweek**.) Anders is a noted philosopher and author of **New Morals in the Atomic Age**. Their correspondence indicates that Eatherly has come to understand his inner torment and wants to publicize it so that society will recognize "its own far deeper guilt."

He wrote to Anders in August, 1959:

"I accept the fact that I am unlikely to bring about that recognition by getting into scrapes with the law, that I have been doing in my determination to shatter the 'hero image' of me by which society has sought to perpetuate its own complacency."

HE CANNOT LEAVE: Last Nov. 22 Eatherly left the Waco hospital, in accordance with his rights as a volunteer patient, and never returned. The Washington **Post and Times-Herald** (Dec. 5, 1960) reported that "VA officials said they have no authority to arrest Eatherly or take him back to the hospital." But Eatherly was picked up and on Jan. 14, on request of his brother, was declared insane and committed. As an involuntary patient he cannot leave.

On learning of Eatherly's commitment, Anders wrote to President Kennedy and simultaneously released the letter to the press. It caused a stir in Europe. Psychiatrists in several countries have shown interest. Bertrand Russell wrote in the London **New Statesman** (Feb. 17) that Eatherly's statements "are entirely sane." But no U.S. publication has picked up Anders' letter and no group is working for Eatherly's release.

AGE OF THE APPARATUS: In his letter, Anders called Eatherly's case "a moral scandal which threatens to go down in history as the Dreyfus Affair of the 20th Century—no, perhaps as an even more fateful affair." To Anders, Eatherly is "the attempt to keep conscience alive in the Age of the Apparatus."

Anders wrote that the court's "verdict contradicts the facts." He said, "Every reasonable medical man knows: It is abnormal to act normally during or after an abnormal situation. It is abnormal if, after an appalling shock, someone goes on living as if nothing has happened."

He recalled Gotthold Lessing's words: "He who doesn't lose his mind over certain things, has none to lose."

Anders explained that "through his sham criminal actions [Eatherly] has tried to enforce that punishment which was not granted him." He suggested that the U.S. could not accept Eatherly's remorse because it "would have been an indictment . . . against the Hiroshima mission."

He also asked whether the VA psychiatrists understood the criminal acts as "reactions" to his guilt over Hiroshima and would treat him properly.

Anders said: "It looks as if the Air Force exerted pressure on the hospital staff . . . to keep Eatherly interned indefinitely." He questioned the legality of arresting Eatherly after his voluntary departure from the hospital.

He proposed an international commission of psychiatrists—"for instance, a Swede, a doctor from India, a Pole and a Japanese"—to reexamine Eatherly. Anders included excerpts from Eatherly's letters:

My personal experience needs to be studied if its true significance, not only for myself, but for all men everywhere, is to be grasped.
—June 21, 1959

It seems that those sleeping under the ashes of Hiroshima were crying something for peace. I hope that people could together, hand in hand, make a better world.
—Aug. 22, 1959

One has only one life, and if the experiences of my life can be used for the benefit of the human race, then that is the way it will be used, not for money nor fame, but because of the responsibility I own toward everyone. In that way I will receive a great benefit and relieve my gulit.
—August, 1959

To most people my method of rebellion against war is that of an insane person. No other way could I have made people realize that nuclear war is a moral degeneration as well as . . . physically destructive.
—May 27, 1959

Eatherly's words are not insane: the imbalance rather is in those who would make "bigger and better" bombs. Anders put it thus: "Happy the times in which the insane speak out this way; wretched the times in which only the insane speak out this way."

A FELLOW VICTIM: On July 24, 1959, 30 Hiroshima girls suffering from "the atomic sickness" wrote to Eatherly "to convey our sincere sympathy with you and to assure you that we do not harbor any sense of enmity to you personally—you are also a victim like us."

If Eatherly is a "Hiroshima victim," then these questions must be asked:

- Will he be "cured" by shutting him away, or by allowing him to go out in the world to testify against war?
- Is he being labeled insane so that the warmakers may bear the seal of sanity?
- By permitting him to be confined, is society seeking to still its own conscience?

These are questions a nuclear age society must answer to Eatherly. To itself it must answer: For whom is Eatherly dangerous? And the answer must be: To all of us, if we do not heed his cry.

Those whose conscience is not interned might follow Dr. Anders' lead and write to President Kennedy in behalf of Eatherly's freedom.

A TRAGIC THING FOR PEACE

A comment: SANE and civil liberties

By Corliss Lamont

IT IS OBVIOUS enough that the Communist purge recently instituted by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy has disrupted the functioning of that organization throughout the country and has gravely weakened the most promising peace movement in the United States since the end of World War II.

The details of what has happened to this Committee are familiar to GUARDIAN readers (note especially Robert E. Light's article in the March 20 issue). Further details may be obtained in Barbara Deming's article, "The Ordeal of SANE," in **The Nation** of March 11.

Comparatively little, however, has been written about the specific implications of the SANE Committee's witch-hunt, starting with its new policy statement of May 26, 1960. This pronouncement set up certain political qualifications for officership and other positions of responsibility; and definitely barred out members of the Communist Party, because they were "not free . . . to apply to the misconduct of the Soviet or Chinese governments the same standard by which they challenge others." Later, SANE's National Board implemented this statement by declaring that Communists "will not be welcome" as ordinary members; and by issuing instructions to national and local leaders for questioning individuals accused of past or present Communist associations, and for expelling those whose answers were unsatisfactory.

From a civil liberties standpoint the overwhelming objection to the SANE directives is, in the first place, that they put into effect the abhorrent doctrine of guilt by association as opposed to the traditional American principle that guilt must always be personal and individual. In the second place, the SANE policy makes clear that the only way a suspect worker can escape being adjudged guilty is to subscribe to the well-known Loyalty Oath: "I am not and never was a Communist." Test oaths are violative of civil liberties.

IN ADOPTING these anti-freedom tactics of McCarthyism as its own, the National Board of SANE showed a disregard for fundamental democratic principles and set in motion a series of actions that run directly counter to the Bill of Rights. The purge policy requires the officers of SANE not only to eliminate any **known** Communists in the organization, but to make a thorough search for alleged **secret** Communists who might have wormed their way in. This at once creates feelings of alarm and suspicion on all sides, and brings particular pressure to bear against independent liberals, progressives or radicals who are the most likely to be accused of following "the Communist line."

As Henry Abrams, a valiant fighter for peace and the leading scapegoat in this ugly business, said to Norman Cousins, co-chairman of SANE, when the latter was grilling him about Communist affiliations: "You have the right to ask me two questions: Have I always followed the policy set down by the National Board? And have I done a good job? I think the answer to both is in the affirmative." (Mr. Cousins is actually the functioning chairman of SANE, while the other co-chairman, Quaker Clarence Pickett, plays more the role of an honorary chairman.)

In the third place, SANE's new purge policy betrays American civil liberties because it represents a crass capitulation to Senator Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, of which he is Vice-Chairman. Just before SANE's big Madison Square Garden meeting on May 19, 1960, the Senator subpenaed Mr. Abrams, who was active in organizing the rally, and warned the SANE leadership that Communists were infiltrating the organization. On May 25 Dodd renewed these charges publicly on the Senate floor. Later he subpenaed some 25 other persons working in SANE or supporting it.

INSTEAD OF resisting Dodd's encroachments and telling him that his inquiry into the political views and affiliations of SANE workers violated the First Amendment, Norman Cousins and his National Board agreed to collaborate with the Senator in hopes of preventing further attacks by him. That is why, on May 26, just one day after Dodd's speech, the Board passed its anti-Communist resolution.

In that speech Dodd had paid a "personal tribute" to Cousins, an old friend of his in Connecticut, "for the manner in which he has reacted to the revelations of the Subcommittee . . . When he saw me in Washington he asked for the Subcommittee's assistance in ridding the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy of whatever Communist infiltration does exist. He offered to open the books of the organization to the Subcommittee and to cooperate with it in every way."

SANE's National Board not only declined to defend publicly the individuals subpenaed by the Subcommittee and their right to rely on the Fifth Amendment clause against self-incrimination, but even quashed advertisements that local chapters wanted to run in the press as a protest against the Dodd inquisition. The SANE leadership went so far in appeasing the Senator that it advised locals not to organize or support public demonstrations on behalf of Professor Linus Pauling. Pauling had courageously defied the demand of the Subcommittee to bring to a hearing the names of those who had helped him obtain the signatures of 11,000 scientists on a petition to the United Nations in 1958 against further nuclear weapons tests.

COUSINS AND his associates justified these stratagems by saying that they were bringing inside pressure on Dodd; and that the Senator, on his part, would refrain from smearing SANE and from issuing publicity about its workers who had testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee. That "gentlemen's agreement" reached its ignominious conclusion on March 8, 1961, when Dodd charged in the Senate that the Communists were still infiltrating SANE and read into the **Congressional Record** the names of the SANE witnesses. On March 18 the Subcommittee made public their testimony.

At the same time Dodd talked of new Federal legislation to cope with "the problem of Communist infiltration" and added the following piece of blackmail:

"It is my hope that over the coming period the national committee of SANE will, by the example in which it is now engaged, demonstrate that legislation is not needed. For my own part, I am disposed to give the committee an appropriate period of time in which to prove its point."

In assessing SANE's surrender to the Internal Security Subcommittee, we must keep in mind what that committee stands for. On this point I quote from an article in **Liberation** (July-August 1960) written by A. J. Muste, the pacifist minister, who had resigned in protest from SANE's governing board:

"These investigative agencies perpetuate an intolerable invasion of the liberties of citizens. They are agencies of thought control. They belong in a totalitarian not a democratic society. We should have learned our lesson from the blight of McCarthyism which descended on this nation not long ago. The fact that Senator Dodd may lack some of McCarthy's personal characteristics and that he may operate in a less crude fashion does not fundamentally alter the evil. It may conceivably make it more serious. We desperately need a great national debate on foreign policy and other issues. We cannot have it under the threat of political inquisition which these agencies represent."

MUSTE'S REFERENCE to "political inquisition" leads me to say that, in the fourth place, SANE's weak-kneed refusal to fight it out with Senator Dodd on principle not only has given fresh strength to the Internal Security Subcommittee, but also has mightily encouraged the enemies of civil liberties throughout the United States, including the House Committee on Un-American Activities. By its example, SANE has helped to stimulate a witch-hunt atmosphere in general—an atmosphere that makes all the more difficult the free discussion and fulfillment of its own sound objectives regarding nuclear weapons tests, disarmament and peace.

When SANE insists that domestic Communists are outside the pale of civilized behavior, it is building up a public opinion among the American people that foreign Communists, too, belong in the same category and cannot be trusted to keep treaties for the control of nuclear weapons or any other kind of international agreement.

Robert W. Gilmore of the Friends Service Committee develops this point further in his eloquent letter of resignation from SANE, when he refers to "the condition under which one man, or a group of men, regards another man, or group of men, not as fellow human beings but as alien creatures who may be ruthlessly wiped out with justification. This condition, without which war could not take place, is epidemic in the world today. It spreads every time one man looks at another man and sees an alien creature (whom he may label 'black,' 'white' or 'Communist'). If SANE contributes to this disease within its own ranks, it contributes just as surely to the human condition leading toward the destruction it was formed to battle against."

* * *

THE STORY of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee during 1960-61 has an all too familiar ring. Since I was a member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union for so many years, the SANE disaster brings back vivid memories of the ACLU's sellout, some 20 years ago, to Congressman Martin Dies and the House Un-American Activities Committee. The situation was very much the same. When in 1939 Dies threatened to brand the ACLU as a Communist front, two high officials of the organization—Morris L. Ernst and Arthur Garfield Hays—rushed to Washington to confer with him just as Norman Cousins rushed to the capital last May to talk with Senator Dodd.

THE INQUISITION

In a special conference with Congressman Dies and Adolph A. Berle Jr., then an Assistant Secretary of State, Ernst and Hays made a deal to the effect that if the HUAC would stop harassing the Civil Liberties Union, that organization could be counted on to cleanse itself of Communists. This the ACLU soon did by passing its famous Resolution of February 1940 excluding Communists from officership and then expelling within a few months Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the only member of the Communist Party on the Board of Directors. The 1940 Resolution of the ACLU established the first important non-Communist test oath in the United States and set a pattern that a number of other organizations followed.

One of the ACLU directors most active in purging the Communists was Norman Thomas, the Socialist politician, who has been Norman Cousins' right-hand man in SANE's similar course. Thomas has taken a good position on a number of civil liberties issues during the past 25 years, but his consistent red-baiting, anti-Communist fanaticism and leadership in Communist purges contradict his positive contributions in defense of the Bill of Rights.

It is a tragic thing for civil liberties, for peace and for the American people that history continues to repeat itself in the way I have described.

Freedom to smother

NEWSWEEK'S chief Latin American correspondent wrote from Mexico City in the March 20 issue:

"Mexican democracy moves in devious ways its wonders to perform. Deciding to smother the conference [see page 7] with a blanket of silence, government officials called in Mexico City's leading newspaper editors one by one and explained that by giving the conference any publicity they would simply be playing into the hands of the Communists. They didn't make any threats; they didn't have to; the editors were only too glad to cooperate. The radio stations joined in the conspiracy of silence, and the result was a virtual blackout in Mexico of news about the conference."

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THE GATHERING THE U.S. PRESS BLACKED OUT

Latin American conference sets freedom as goal

By Robert & Valeda Randolph
Special to the Guardian

MEXICO CITY

NATIONAL LIBERATION was the keynote and determination and optimism the mood that prevailed at the Latin American Conference on National Sovereignty, Economic Emancipation and Peace, which was held here March 5-8. More than 1,300 delegates from every Latin American country responded to the conference call, in addition to fraternal delegations from China, the Soviet Union, Guinea, France, the U.S. and Canada.

Sponsors of the conference included hundreds of writers, artists, educators, legislators, workers and students from all over Latin America. The call was issued over the names of Mexico's most beloved figure, former President Lazaro Cardenas; Domingo Velasco, a member of Brazil's legislature; Alberto Casela, former rector of Argentina's La Plata University, and Prof. Olga Poblete of Chile, secretary of the World Council of Peace for Latin America.

BRAZIL'S DOMINGO VELASCO, MEXICO'S LAZARO CARDENAS, AND ARGENTINA'S ALBERTO CASELA
Said Cardenas: "While there is still one country without liberty, there will be no peace in the world"

THE UNREPORTED: The Scripps-Howard press described the conference in terms of "a few dozen Communist hacks flailing their arms and mouthing moth-eaten slogans." But this kind of lather could not eradicate the presence—even if unreported—of such delegates as Dr. Alejandro Gomez, former vice president of Argentina; Prof. Vladimiro Acosta of the Argentina School of Architecture; Dr. Francisco Bellomo, former president of the Argentine Medical Confederation; former Senator Salvador Ocampo of Chile; Vilma Espin de Castro, wife of Raul Castro; Dr. Silvio de la Torre, rector of Cuba's University of Santa Clara; Nicolas Guillen, Cuba's distinguished poet; Mexico's Gen. Heriberto Jara; Dr. Jose Oropeza, a leading figure of Venezuela's House of Deputies.

Mingling with leaders of peace, student and union movements were the delegates from the State of Coahila, bringing 10,000 signatures to the conference; more than 500 peasants from Michoacan, Zacatecas, Jalisco and Durango, reaching out for the printed speeches and the resolutions. Stink bombs and black doves failed to mar the opening day which saw the delegates rising in silent tribute to Patrice Lumumba.

SUPPORT FOR CUBA: Threading through the speeches were calls for support of the Cuban revolution. Deferring to others for the permanent presidency of the conference, Cardenas said that Premier Castro was "the spiritual president." He said that the "unjust conspiracy" against Cuba imposes on the people of Latin America the unavoidable necessity of achieving collective solidarity. He said in his opening speech:

"We affirm that while there is still one country without liberty, suffering from economic subjugation, there will be no peace in the world."

He went on: "Anti-communist forces try to characterize as communist-inspired and subversive every democratic struggle, every effort toward economic independence and every desire to preserve national sovereignty. These three currents are in conflict with the interests of finance capital. Capital necessary for development must be invested by Latin Americans. Only thus will the emancipation of our countries be achieved, and a peaceful unity that will contribute to the friendship of all peoples and thus to world security."

Some people, he said, try to confuse others by saying that those who defend peace cannot be in favor of revolution: "People who make such a statement forget that a revolution is an internal affair while war is a problem among nations. Revolutions are made by a majority of a people, while war is made by a minority, without consulting the majority and having only profit in mind. We do not preach violence; we only explain it. We do not believe that violence will be the only road for Latin America, but we do believe that we must be democratically organized in order to implant the will of the people."

PRETEXTS FOR ARMS: Argentina's Casela said in his opening remarks: "We reject Monroeism and verbal Pan-Americanism which are ineffective and contrary to genuine Latin American interests. These are pretexts for sustaining armed forces that exceed our economic capacity and force us today to postpone the solution of fundamental problems such as health, education and housing."

From Guinea, Savane Marckandia, governor of the Macenta region, said: "All democratic forces in the world await your resolutions which will indicate without ambiguity your determination to put an end to foreign domination." For the Soviet Union, writer Wanda Wasilewska said: "For friendship and affection distances do not exist." Greetings were delivered from China's Premier Chou En-lai as well as by a Chinese delegation in person.

The greatest ovation went to Senora Castro, who told the conference that the Cuban revolution would always be "a revolution of the humble, for the humble, by the humble." It cannot be stopped, she said, "because the people are the absolute owners of their own destiny, without subjugation by any type of colonialism; they have the right to their own bread and culture, to profit for themselves from their own wealth, and to live in peace and friendship with all peoples of the world." Each person in Latin America, she said, saw his own hope in Fidel Castro.

LIFE IN PARAGUAY: A detailed account of life under political oppression and foreign domination was given by Senora Carmen Soler of the Paraguayan National Liberation Front. She said:

"Since 1956 Paraguay has encountered official intervention by the U.S. State Dept. Gen. Stroessner, head of the dictatorial regime which our country has suffered for over 20 years, with its repressive laws, prisons and concentration camps, declared in a press conference that the U.S. ambassador is a minister without portfolio in his government.

"In our country imperialist exploitation has been carried out to unimaginable extremes. Forty times our money has been devalued in favor of the dollar. A worker's wage 15 years ago was $7, and that has been reduced now to less than $1. In this situation, and with our country totally converted into a base for North American operations, with the construction of strategic military roads, air bases and ramps for atomic rocket launching—in El Chaco atomic rockets are directed against Cuba and all the people of Latin America who struggle for their liberty—it is not surprising that Vice President Nixon declared that the dictatorship of Stroessner is the ideal regime for the people of Latin America."

Senora Soler's description of the torture of guerrilla nurses was so shocking that she apologized even for speaking of it. Then she went on:

"To this bloody repression, to these crimes, the Paraguayan people are responding with even more unity, with more guerrillas, with more peasants training to become guerrillas. The situation is becoming much the same as in the last days of the Batista regime in Cuba."

Dr. Vicente Maura of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement described Puerto Rico as "the breast of Latin America through which has been pierced the spear of American imperialism aimed at the whole of Latin America."

MESSAGE OF FRIENDSHIP: The work of the conference was divided among four commissions which reported to a plenary session on the closing day. The plenary session approved a final declaration (see box).

Across the city, as the conference met, a rival conference of the National Anti-Communist party met in a convention which had been moved ahead from May to counterbalance the Latin American parley. In the course of the week it fizzled out to almost nothing.

In an interview with the GUARDIAN's correspondents, Senora Castro said:

"Through the NATIONAL GUARDIAN we would like to send to the American people—and it is so hard to do this because of the terrible press from which they suffer—a message of friendship from our people who know that the attitude of the government of the U.S. and its aggressions are not those of the American people."

A *declaration against U.S. imperialism*

Following are excerpts of the Declaration adopted March 8 by the La- eace.

A NEW LIBERATING STAGE has started in Latin America. The struggle is based on defending national sovereignity, on economic emancipation and on peace. . . . We need to terminate the condition of dependence that today characterizes us, the violent contrast with the uncontainable advance of the liberating process, with the horizons that science and technology offer to contemporary man.

The fundamental force that brakes the development of Latin America is U.S. imperialism. Its close alliance with our national oligarchies, and the ruinous effects of its economic and cultural penetration, point it out as the main cause of the general stagnation that prevails in Latin America. The defeat of imperialism is the fundamental condition of any plan for the development of our countries

Without economic emancipation there is no political sovereignty. In order to attain it we need: total agrarian reform with special attention to the Indian population; recovery of the national resources which today are in the power of foreign monopolies; access to the basic resources of energy and the fundamental industries, and free access to all the markets; technical and economic assistance without damaging conditions . .

We refute the Monroe Doctrine and fictitious policy of hemispheric security and defense, which infringe on our sovereignty.

THE REALIZATION of the Cuban Revolution is an effective contribution to our liberating cause. The Latin American peoples, by reaffirming energetically that they will defend Cuba against any aggression, know that they are defending their own destinies.

U.S. imperialism has compromised Latin America in the cold war. The imposition of military pacts has unloaded on our peoples the weight of armaments and has fixed limitations on our sovereignty and economic development. We demand the condemnation of all military pacts, and the end of all U.S. military bases in Latin America . . .

The struggle for independence which mobilizes countries is our struggle too. The Latin American process of liberation is inseparable from the consolidation of world peace.

The realization of these purposes is a necessity which can not be postponed. Therefore, we must unite ourselves. The strict cooperation and solidarity among the democratic forces of each country and among all the Latin American countries will permit us to achieve these objectives in a historically short period of time . . .

COAST TO COAST

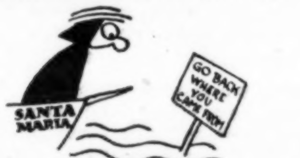
The protest on HUAC is growing

STATEMENTS and resolutions opposing the House Committee on Un-American Activities are appearing in increasing numbers and the controversy over the Committee's film, "Operation Abolition," is raging unabated despite the large House vote which approved the Committee's 1961 budget.

The Committee's activities have been the subject of discussion in at least two state legislatures:

In New York, resolutions recommending that Congress be asked "to enact such legislation as would abolish" the Committee were introduced in the Assembly by Manhattan's Mark Lane and in the Senate by Manfred Ohrenstein, also of Manhattan. Both are Democrats.

A noisy six-hour public hearing was held by the Wisconsin legislature on a bill to commend the Committee. The Wisconsin **State Journal** (Feb. 22) said the hearing "illustrated that the proposed abolition of the Un-American Activities Committee is one of the hottest political issues in Wisconsin today." At the hearing, one Assemblyman threatened an out-of-state student and a University of Wisconsin professor, and Democratic Assemblymen walked out in protest against the showing of "Operation Abolition." In a vote taken by the public present, 181 voted to commend the Committee and 121 voted No. Eighty-five persons signed a petition supporting Gov. Gaylord Nelson's call for abolition.


SANTA MARIA
GO BACK WHERE YOU CAME FROM

In other parts of the country, these things happened:

St. Petersburg, Fla.: The Ministers Association and the United Churches of Greater St. Petersburg adopted resolutions advising all churches and public school authorities "to refrain from using the film, 'Operation Abolition,' because it has nothing to offer in the field of religion or education." The county school board ruled that the film could be shown in secondary schools and to parent-teacher groups "on request."

Providence, R.I.: The American Civil Liberties Union and the state AFL-CIO urged the State Senate to vote against a resolution praising the Committee.

San Francisco, Calif.: An all-day meeting conducted by the ACLU agreed that the Committee should be regulated.

The Board of Rabbis of Northern California in an open letter to President Kennedy said: "The entire idea of a Committee on Un-American Activities is thoroughly unwholesome and offensive." It urged the President to "remoce this instrument of injustice from the American scene in order that Americans may once again walk upright, clothed in freedom and in dignity."

San Jose, Calif.: Welder Joseph M. Graham of Ironworkers Local 790 demanded that the union get him reinstated at San Jose Steel. He was fired the day he returned to work after refusing to testify in San Francisco in May. He had worked for the company for four and a half years and nad been union chief steward for three and a half years. The union has refused to arbitrate.

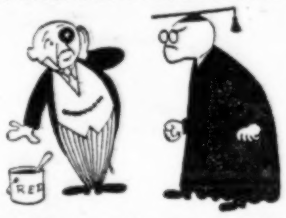
Washington, D.C.: Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) received resolutions opposing the Committee from the Unitarian-Universalist Church of the Greater Washington area; 528 Cornell University professors and students; more than 340 Antioch College students; the Reed College Student Council (passed by 89% of the student body in a referendum); the Swarthmore College student body; Antioch College faculty and administration; the Sheboygan County (Wis.) Independent Union Council; the Rhode Island AFL-CIO; the Marin County (Calif.) Labor Council, and the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice.

New York City: Over 300 persons in Democratic Rep. William Fitts Ryan's Congressional District signed a petition supporting his stand for abolition.

The ACLU released a statement calling for abolition signed by 250 professors from 79 colleges and universities. Signers included: Gordon Allport, Harvard; Edward U. Condon, Washington University; Foster Rhea Dulles, Ohio State; John Hope Franklin, Brooklyn College.

ACTIVE CAMPUSES: On campuses around the country "Operation Abolition" has received adverse reactions. In Middletown, Conn., Wesleyan College students staged a mock show of support in a noisy session at the college chapel attended by 1,000. Students carried small American flags and wore DAR armbands. Signs read: "We want McCarthy" and "Fulton is revolting (against Reds)." "Fulton" is Fulton Lewis III, the film's commentator and a HUAC staff investigator.

At a showing at New York's Hunter College an audience of 500 cheered students and hostile winesses in the film and booed the Committee and police. The projectionist insisted that an announcement be made that he had no connection with the film or with Young Americans for Freedom, sponsor of the showing. The YAF faculty adviser received a standing ovation when she attacked the film.



Harpur College students showed up at an American Legion screening in Binghamton, N.Y., armed with the California students' report on the demonstrations and documentation of distortions in the film. The Legion commander read excerpts from J. Edgar Hoover's version of the events, but refused to read the student report. The Harpur students presented the student view at an impromptu press conference outside the hall.

NO PROFIT SHARING: Time magazine was mildly critical of the film in an article March 17 which pointed out that "none of the $20,000 profit so far has been shared with the TV stations" whose films were subpenaed by the Committee to make "Operation Abolition." **Time** said: "Fact is that nobody comes off very well in Operation Abolition. Commentator Lewis reaches for smooth explanations that are not quite there."

A reprint of a series of eight articles from the San Francisco **News Call Bulletin** which conclude that the film is distorted is available from the newspaper.

Three Catholic publications which recently attacked the film are: the **Oklahoma Courier,** official publication of the Catholic Diocese of Oklahoma City and Tulsa (Feb. 24); the **Catholic Bulletin,** official outlet of the Archdiocese of St. Paul and New Ulm, Minn., and **America,** weekly Catholic review (March 11).

Freedom rallies

A SERIES of meetings in the mid-West and East to rally support for First Amendment defendants will begin March 27 in Milwaukee with a forum on "Is the Un-American Committee destroying our freedom?"

Speakers who will tour are Carl Braden, field secretary, Southern Conference Educational Fund; and Frank Wilkinson, field representative, and Aubrey Williams, chairman, Natl. Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. Wilkinson and Braden plan to "talk their way to Atlanta" where they are scheduled to begin a year in prison for contempt of Congress. A petition has been submitted for a rehearing of their cases by the Supreme Court which upheld their contempt citations Feb. 27.

First Amendment rallies thus far scheduled are:

Milwaukee: March 27, 8 p.m., YWCA center, room 514, 610 N. Jackson, sponsored by the Wisconsin Committee for Constitutional Freedoms.

Chicago: March 28, 8 p.m., 32 W. Randolph St., sponsored by the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights. Also speaking, Dr. Willard Uphaus, Kermit Eby and Frank Anglin, Jr. and Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein.

University of Wisconsin, Madison: March 29, 7:30 p.m., Wesley Foundation, 1127 University Av.

Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.: March 30, 3:30 p.m.

University of Chicago: April 2.

Washington, D.C.: April 7

Coordinator of the midwest meetings is the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, Suite 811, 189 W. Madison St., DE 2-7142; East Coast: the N.Y. Council to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, Room 442, 150 W. 34 St., PE 6-3228. Braden and Wilkinson will be available for other meetings.

ECLC WORKSHOP: Braden will take part in a New York workshop sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, April 9, from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. at the New Yorker Hotel, 8th Av. at 34 St. Subject is "The Recession in Civil Liberties." Others who will lead discussions are: Dr. Uphaus, Judge Hubert T. Delany, Leonard B. Boudin, Rev. Arthur Walmsley, David Wesley, Prof. H. H. Wilson, former Rep. William Meyer, Murray Gordon and Prof. David Haber. The HUAC film, "Operation Abolition," will be shown at 1 p.m. Registration fee is $1. The ECLC office is at 421 7th Av., phone, OX 5-2863.

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BOOKS

A false view of India's role

MANY WESTERN liberals develop goose flesh at the thought of poor Asians, Africans and Latin Americans adopting socialist China's way of rapid economic development. They have been imploring Washington to extend massive financial aid to India to accelerate the pace of India's economic progress. They believe the poor peoples of the world would in that case emulate India rather than China, and thus prevent the further spread of socialism.

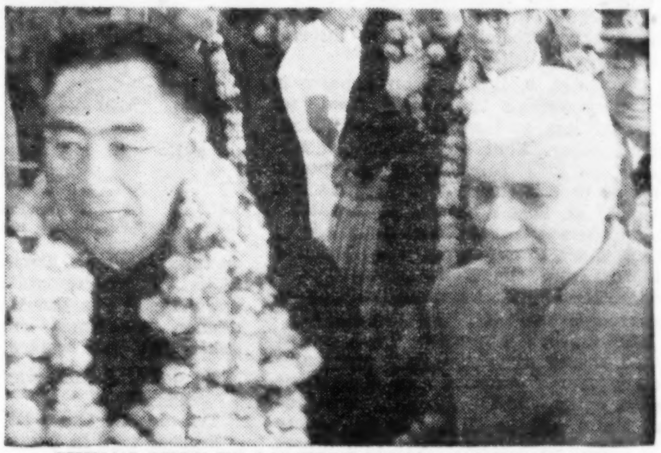
One of these liberals, Barbara Ward of the London **Economist,** who is a frequent contributor to American periodicals, has elaborated this theory in her latest book, **India and the West.*** Her reputation as a writer on politics and international affairs, together with the fact that some of the liberals referred to above are members of the Kennedy Administration, has resulted in her book acquiring an importance far beyond its merit.

MISS WARD urges the 17 countries of the world with an anuual per capita income above $500 to contribute 1% of their national incomes to a Marshall Plan for the non-socialist underdeveloped countries. She includes among these 17 Finland, Israel and even Venezuela. The pool, she says, would amount to more than $6,000,000,000, of which $1,000,000,000 to $2,000,000,000 annually would go to India. She also suggests that, since the Soviet Union lends for 12 years at 2½% interest, there is no reason why the West cannot lend for 40 years at 2%.

Others have made suggestions similar to Miss Ward's. Little attention need be paid to her book if this were all she said. But she has used this as a peg on which to hang a sleek version of imperialism which exonerates imperialists with a gentle slap on the wrist and insults the intelligence of the recently colonial and still colonial peoples.

SINCE INDIA and other poor countries are attempting to modernize their economy and since she wishes to stress India's method in contrast to China's, Miss Ward devotes nearly a hundred of the 256 pages of her book to a review of the industrial revolution in Britain and another 40 pages to British conquest of India and its contribution to the development of India's political, economic and social outlook. Space permits taking up only a few of the sins of omission and commission in her book.

Miss Ward gives a very sketchy but on the whole fair picture of the industrial revolution in Britain, except the important role the loot from India—following the Battle of Plassey in 1757, when British rule was consolidated—played in it. Brooks Adams in **The Law of Civilization and Decay** wrote:



CHINA'S CHOU EN-LAI WITH INDIA'S NEHRU IN 1956
Western liberals prefer India's way to China's rapid pace

"The influx of Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital, not only increased its stock of energy, but added much to its flexibility. Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect seems to have been instantaneous; for all authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution,' the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760."

INVENTIONS contributing to industrial progress existed before the loot from India poured into Britain. Adams, however, noted:

"In themselves, inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money not hoarded but in motion. Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived five years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together. Possibly since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder . . . From 1694 to Plassey the growth had been relatively slow. Between 1760 and 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious."

Miss Ward's description of British rule in India is a preposterous melange of half-truths and untruths. To the argument for independence given by many colonials that "no one learns to swim" on land, she retorts: "But a child can drown if thrown into the water too soon. The British solution [was] a series of cautious but widening constitutional experiments in partial self-government, each designed to take India further and further into the water." It is insulting to compare Indians with a proud heritage of culture to children in the field of self-government, and a complete distortion to call "constitutional experiments" the concessions wrung from Britain by Indian sacrifice.

BUT MISS WARD goes even further. She says that, in 1884 a retired British official in India, Allan Octavian Hume, started the National Congress party—led later by Gandhi and Nehru—"to remind India's potential leaders that no country could prosper if its political life was left wholly to the discretion of foreigners." Actually, as Sir William Wedderburn has shown in his biography of Hume, after consulting the current Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, Hume persuaded some of his Indian friends to start the Congress party to discuss "social matters;" he took this step to prevent Indian intellectuals from giving leadership to the vast underground conspiratorial organizations, of whose existence he had learned from voluminous police reports when he served the British Raj.

Preoccupation with justifying imperialism and denouncing socialism leads Miss Ward to making wild statements. Shying away from using the word "independence" and ignoring the bloody struggle for colonial freedom, she deplores the "transfers of power [being] flung at peoples whose readiness to receive it was doubtful, to say the least." Giving as an essential reason why Western rule over colonies has been beneficial, she makes the manifestly untrue statement: "The thought that human society might be perfectible and humanity redeemable belongs to the Jewish and Christian tradition alone."

SHE IS OBLIGED to concede China's spectacular progress, but denounces Peking's total mobilization of all resources by characterizing it as "a mobilization which all states practice in time of war, and which the Communists carry on for their version of peace." Yet in her denunciation lies the key to the future of the underdeveloped countries.

For Peking has mobilized for war against the most degrading poverty, disease and illiteracy and against never-ceasing Western attempts to dismember former colonial countries, including China. The attempt to keep Taiwan permanently severed from China continues unabated; the Congo has been split up by Belgium with the connivance of its NATO partners. Peking's "version of peace" is a strong, healthy, prosperous and united China—which is the goal of all poor countries, including India. And even if China never existed, its way would still be valid for the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

—Kumar Goshal

**INDIA AND THE WEST, by Barbara Ward. W. W. Norton & Co., New York. 256 pp. including index. $4.50,*

Hiram Revels story in second printing

A SECOND PRINTING of Elizabeth Lawson's pamphlet, **The Gentleman from Mississippi,** the story of Hiram Revels, the first Negro U.S. Senator, was published during Negro History Week. The pamphlet sells for 35c,

Louisville arrests

(Continued from Page 1)

committee began functioning, tensions eased so much that Frank Stanley, Negro integration leader and assistant to the publisher of the Louisville **Defender,** Negro weekly, predicted complete integration of stores within a month.

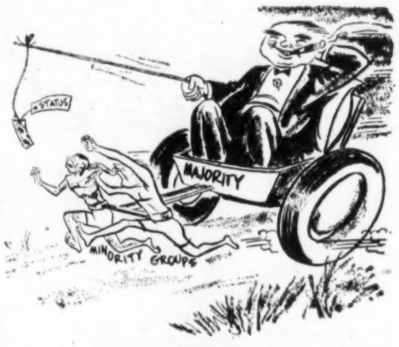
On March 9, however, an impasse in the negotiations was announced for which Negro and white leaders blamed one another. That day 250 Negro students paraded through the downtown area to protest the lack of progress and call for an Easter boycott of downtown stores. Demonstrations were organized by the NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Non-Partisan Registration Committee, a group seeking to increase Negro voter registration.

The mayor's committee in a report noted the desegregation of three major hotels, four restaurants, an art movie house, eating facilities in two major retail stores and in all the chain variety and drug stores. The report said others had promised to integrate and urged a halt to the demonstrations.

OLD TECHNIQUE: Mayor Bruce Hoblitzell laid the breakdown to "a contest for recognition" among Negro groups and leaders and charged that Negro adults were exercising a "morally bad" influence by leading young people in demonstrations. "I think it is a shame to use children this way," he said.

Stanley replied: "The old technique of conservatives is to attempt to divide Negro leadership and to conquer." He said the moral wrong was "Louisville's paradoxical inconsistency of a segregation pattern."

In the next few days 86 were arrested on charges of delinquency and disorderly conduct during demonstrations at motion picture theaters. Demonstrators' technique was to circulate past ticket windows, sometimes offering money to the cashier, sometimes simply asking for tickets. As they walked, students sang:



Amsterdam News, New York

Perpetual motion?

> Go down, Justice, way down in Louisville.
> Tell old Jim Crow, let my people go.
> Negroes were in Louisville, let my people go.
> Oppressed so hard they could not stand, let my people go.

A WITCH-HUNT? On March 13 Juvenile Court Judge Henry Triplett issued a statement calling for an investigation of the demonstration. To some the statement sounded like a call for a witch-hunt. It said:

"Heretofore, the court and its staff have requested the Negro leaders and the children involved to exercise judgment and restraint pending the trial on the merits of these charges. Although this request was made by the court, adult Negro leaders have publicly proclaimed their intentions to continue the use of children in demonstrations. Under these circumstances, the Juvenile Court cannot and will not close its eyes to the possibility that children are being exploited."

The Louisville **Courier-Journal** on March 14 called the judge's statement "unfortunate" and said it was "at best a gratuitous intrusion into a delicate situation." It pointed out that the demonstrations had been orderly and peaceful. "As long as they are," the editorial said, "there is no need for wholesale arrests on tenuous charges that only serve to make the problem here seem much worse than it is to the rest of the country."

That same day over 300 demonstrated and 177 were jailed. The **Courier-Journal** said the demonstration ended earlier than had been planned "after most of the participants were arrested." Among those jailed were Stanley and two NAACP leaders: Rev. W. J. Hodge, president, and Rev. F. G. Sampson, vice-president.

On March 16 Gov. Bert Combs met with the integration committee while 450 Negroes held a prayer meeting. They were joined by three white ministers and 15 white divinity students. Negro integration leaders had met with the Governor in Frankfort, Ky., two days earlier.

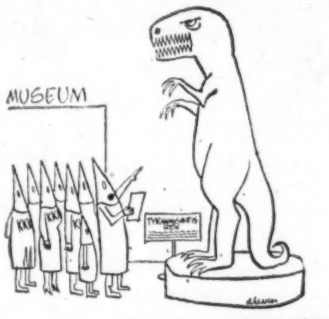
Elsewhere in the South recent demonstrations have been marked by violence.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.: Repeated violent incidents occurred March 15 in this city which was the scene of large-scale rioting in February, 1960. There was a rock-throwing clash between 50 whites and 50 Negroes during a stand-in at a white-only theater. Earlier that day a white man struck a Negro minister and an elderly white woman was hospitalized after she had been knocked down by Negro students fleeing from a group of whites.

A threat of further violence was telephoned to the home of a Negro demonstrator by a caller who identified himself as the "Grand Dragon of the KKK." The demonstrator's father, John Ricks, told police the caller said: "We are going to kill him." A cross was burned in the Ricks' yard.

COLUMBIA, S.C.: A 24-year-old theology student, Lenny Glover, was stabbed March 6 as he sat at a white-only lunch counter. Hospital attendants at first reported his injury as not serious. Later an operation for the removal of his spleen was performed and his condition was listed as critical for several days.

ROCK HILL, S.C.: Two Negro students who recently had served 30 days on a road gang for picketing downtown Rock Hill stores were beaten by white hoodlums. One was knocked unconscious. He returned to the picket line after emergency treatment at a hospital. Police followed a pattern prevalent in Southern cities: they window-shopped at stores across the street.



Anthony Ahearn

"—and here, folks, is the first grand Dragon."

SAVANNAH, GA.: An NAACP Youth Council member was beaten by eight whites March 14 during a sit-in at an F. W. Woolworth lunch counter.

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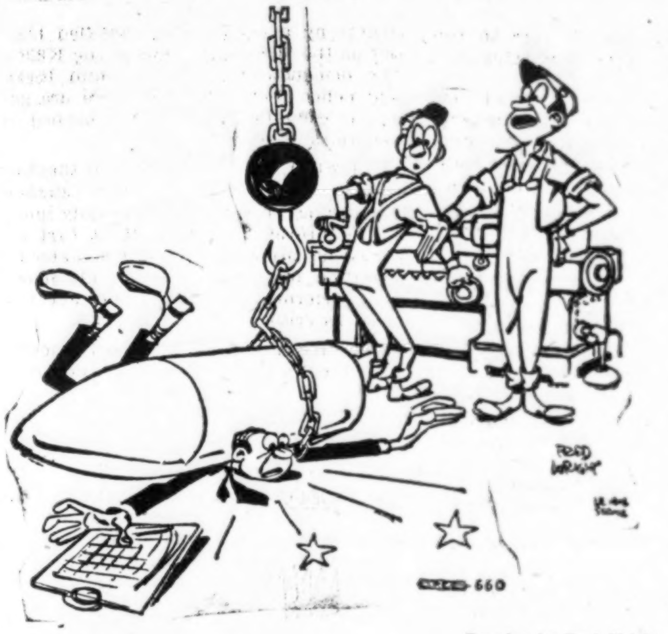

Drawing by Fred Wright

"I kept telling him someone surely would be hurt if we went through with this armament program."

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BOSTON

DEBATE ON: "THE CUBAN REVOLUTION" FOR: William Worthy. **AGAINST:** Herminio Portel Vila.
FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 8 p.m., at CHARLES ST., UNIVERSALIST MEETING HOUSE (70 Charles St.) AUSP: FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMMITTEE.

CAMBRIDGE

Mrs. Ruby Shuttlesworth & Rev. William Howard Melish will speak at **FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE**, 5 Longfellow Park off Brattle Street at
8 p.m. TUES. MARCH 28

NEW HAVEN

Mrs. Ruby Shuttlesworth & Rev. William Howard Melish will speak for the Southern Conference Eductional Fund at
Dwight Hall, old Yale Campus at
7 P.M. SUNDAY MARCH 26

CHICAGO

Hear Yuri Suhl, "HOW FARE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION, EASTERN EUROPE & ISRAEL?" **FRI., MARCH 24,** 8 p.m., home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Basker, 5010 Jarlath Ave., Skokie. **SUN., MARCH 26,** 8 p.m., Hyde Park YMCA, 1400 E. 53 St. Also Chalk Talk by Peggy Kraft Lipschitz. Sponsored by: Chicago Committee for Jewish Currents, Box 4714, Chicago 90, Ill.

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THE GALLERY

HERTER'S INC., A SPORTING GOODS mail order company, announces in its latest catalog that "everyone should realize that the cold war sometime is bound to turn into a nuclear war." Herter's figures that the Chinese are bound to bomb us. The company advises customers that after an attack "you must be able to live on what you have stored in your home and you must be able to defend your home against your neighbors." Herter's recommends a 19-item survival kit which includes "a sleeping bag for every one in your family," "minimum of 500 wood matches," "year's supply of sewing thread, mending yarn and needles" and a "year's supply of aspirin, iodine, laxatives and bandages." Herter's emphasizes the need to store tobacco because "tobacco is worth much more than anything else when it becomes scarce." . . . Director Elia Kazan, discussing the South, told the Los Angeles **Times:** "I hate segregation but not the segregationists. I've gone fishing and hunting with them. They're very human people." . . . Kuwait, a sheikdom on the Persian Gulf between Iraq and Saudi Arabia, hired an American company, Litchfield Whiting Bowne & Associates, to design its first modern jail. . . . A sheik in the same country hired Adrian Grigg, a London interior decorator, to design a bedroom for his daughter. It will have a glass floor with goldfish swimming underneath and the walls will be covered with fur. "I'm keeping it plain and simple," Grigg said.

•

THE NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSN. asked the U. of California academic senate to review the failing grade given to James Creighton in military training because he had picketed in protest against the compulsory ROTC. NSA president Richard A. Rettig asked the university to give Creighton "the grade he ought to have received for his classroom and drill field performance." . . . At Riverside, Calif., County Planning Commission hearings, after a long, trying debate, a white-haired lady jumped up in the spectator section and asked the commissioners: "What would Jesus do if he was here?" A quick-thinking but tired commissioner answered: "He'd go home and eat." . . . Henri Jeusset in Rennes, France, was fined 50 francs ($10) for falsely reporting that he had been robbed. Jeusset said he did it to see how long it would take police to go into action . . . Peter Gibbons in London knew something was amiss when he got a six-month phone bill for £465 ($1,302); his usual bill ran about £20. On checking he found that his wife had been calling Frederick R. Gulden in Essex, 200 miles away. One call lasted two hours and nine minutes. A judge granted Gibbons a divorce on the grounds that Mrs. Gibbons had misbehaved with Gulden, at close-range as well as long-distance.

—Robert E. Light

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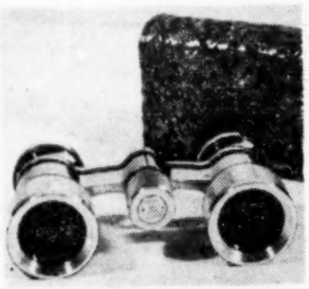

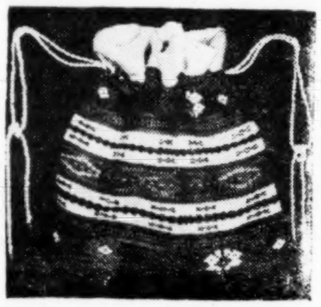

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NEWSPAPER

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the SPECTATOR

Soapbox speech for Kennedy

Salute!
—that hero, who, without counting
The downcast light in the eyes of the newfallen dead
Gathered his valor;
Who, without blood on the shining edge of his word,
Prevailed;
Who, without armor, achieved;
Who, with his love carried the town and the day—
Praise him!

• • •

I am not talking, friends, about happy Jack Kennedy
The bodacious baby bronc-buster from the bonny braes of old **Back Bay**
Shouting **Powder River let 'er buck!** to the well-heeled merry-go-round mounts of hard money:
Those rocking-horse herds of many mortgages charging
Across the guilt-edged prairie-dogged lawns of his father's first million.

I am not talking, comrades, good buddies, about the catholic candor of this prince of purpose,
This Darius Green of demo-demagoguery stunting at an altitude of six feet two
Over, above and around and through the flat preachments and hairy prophecy
Of political platforms heel-high to heels—unslateable scripts
Full of migrating periods pricked out in the universal language of the dead.

No, I am not speaking, friends, comrades, non-voting
Cats, compañeros of **that** particular Kennedy. Haven't I been there—
Canoe of dialectic shooting the rapids of his careful laughter.
Don't I know—and I'm telling you now, fellow-workers:
Here's instant Ivy sprung from the Old Oaken Head of Eisenhower agog in all winds.

Well—the tic-tac-toe of class consciousness is faster than Univac:
There's no harp in this harp's house and no salt in his dolor!
Scissorbill, meat-head Nixon-head HARK.
Plutonian diseases of the mineral world
Rust the green monies of this springtime king!

• • •

No, lads, sweet ladies, I'm talking about **Sam** Kennedy—
Size Aleph Three halo—man too big to fit in—
To fit in his own novels—hey there old moonfitter! I see you,
Great cock of light on the swinging vane of your petrified song
Blasting the wizened sun from the black entrapments of the dollar-circled sea!

What fever of unloosed light did you bring to the fifty-star dark
Of these benighted States! What diamond ponies of radiant love
Stampeding out of the badlands of a glass guitar!
And against the statutes of popcorn and the protocols of chrome
Eagles of smoke and whisky at your right and left hands fly!

Alas, what colors have bled from our private flags since you went
Single-footing down the blazed trail of cold lang sign
Toward Deads Town . . . Bituminous anguish in the early snow . . .
The Bomb sings in Counting House . . . The Companions discuss
The merits of the demirep Agony Man of the double-headed Party of Death.

It's a long time you been gone old man a long time.
I remember you, helmsman, at the prow of your chisel, discovering
The soft things that shelter in stone I remember your luminous journeys
Into the night of mahogany. I remember the working class heroes
Which your prying and rebel eye led forth from the prison tree.

Times change. Fellow-workers, this sculptor and singer once
Built him a harpsichord for love of the music in it.
Let the President, fellow-workers, build him a voting machine
For the love of the abstract polis. And let us, fellow-workers,
Cast up our ballot. For my dead man alive, or that living in love with the dead.

—L. S. O'Leary

These lines are addressed to a friend of the poet's, Simon Kennedy, who died a few years ago. He was a good sculptor, a good union man, a fine guitar player, and a great story teller. And when the mood struck him, he would try his hand at translating the poems of Federico Garcia Lorca.

Siqueiros and friends

BETHAYRES, PA.

The imprisonment of the great artist David Alfaro Siqueiros by the Mexican government has greatly damaged the professed social justice of the "free world," but much more pressure from around the world will be needed to gain his freedom.

Less is known, however, of the 37 railway workers who are imprisoned with him. Their families are destitute and funds are urgently needed. Money can be sent to them c/o Angelica A. de Siqueiros, Tres Picos 29. Rincon del Bosque, Mexico 5, D.F.

Max Berg